is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowandus, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

him tea or water and a napkin to wash his hands, the father often provides his daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As in the case of the son, the mother is the general confidant of the girl, keeping her secrets and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success. 595

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all kiss his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him ot the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Rowandus by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to its back, and then pressing the spot kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law. 603 ● [576]

The connections between an individual and his uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal 604

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAII Rural MAII

593 passed on in the male line. But the mother does generally retain some recognized and actual authority by virtue of her parental position. There is a general feeling that the ties between mother and son should be close and intimate. In the case of divorced or discarded plural wives, the woman will normally, if she has an established son, become an honored member of her son's household. But the nominal succession should certainly pass in the male line, and only where there is no male member above puberty will the household carry a woman's name. If only for economic reasons, this is a quite rare situation.

The daughter is entirely subject to her father's authority. He functions as her marriage guardian, and even has the right to impose marriage on her — according to Islamic law only before puberty, but in practice also later. The position as marriage guardian — giving the right to receive the brideprice — passes on the death of the father to the girl's nearest male agnatic relative. In *Shafi* law, that is first to her grandfather, second to her brother. Only father and grandfather, however, have the legal right to impose marriage.

Between brothers, relations of supra- and sub-ordination are determined by relative power. In the early years, this means physical power, and is closely connected with relative age. There is, however, no rule of succession, either primo- or ultimogeniture, and the relative positions of brothers are at any time decided by de-facto power and force of personality.

• 603 This positional system has further kinship ramifications, best seen in connection with the actual system of kinship terminology, Diagram 2. a) The child's relations with the grandparents are usually mediated through one of the parents, e. g. the son accompanies his mother on her frequent visits to her paternal household. In this situation authority and control over the child remains with the mother, and the relationship grandmother-grandchild is generally indulgent. The term *manik* or *nanna* then also has an extended usage as a term of endearment to all older women of the village. Relations with the grandfather, especially the paternal grandfather, will be
604 more tempered with respect. b) The other special relationship is with *mam*, father's brother. This term again is used in an extended meaning towards older men to indicate a relationship of closeness

[text continues on p. 32]